# HIS MAIESTIES SPEACH IN THE STARRE-

Chamber,

THE XX. OF IVNE.

ANNO 1616.



Fings most Excellent Maiestie.

## MALESTIES



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### MAIESTIES

#### SPEACH IN THE

STARRE-CHAMBER.



Ine thy fudgements to the King, O God, and thy righteousnes to the Kings sonne. These bee the first wordes of one of the

Plalmes of the Kingly Prophet Dauid, whereof the literall sense runnes upon him and his sonne Salomon, and the mystical sense upon God, and Christ his eternall Sonne: but they are both so wouen together, as some parts are, and can onely be properly applied unto God and Christ, and other parts unto Dauid and Salomon, as this Verse,

righteousnesse to the King, O God, and thy righteousnesse to the Kings sonne, cannot be properly spoken of any, but of Dauid and his sonne; because it is said, Gine thy Iudgement, &c. Now God cannot give to himselfe. In another part of the same Psalme, where it is said, that Righteousness shall flourish, and abundance of Peace, as long as the Moone endureth, it signifies the eternitie, and cannot bee properly applied but to God and Christ: But both senses, as well literall as mysticall, serve to Kings for imitation, and especially to Christian Kings: for Kings sit in the Throne of God, and they themselves are called Gods.

And therefore all good Kings in their gouernment, must imitate God and his Christ, in being iust and righteous; Dauid and Salomon, in being godly and wise: To be wise, is vnderstood, able to discerne, able to iudge others: To be godly is, that the fountaine be pure whence the streames proceed: for what auailes it though all his workes bee godly, if they proceed not from godlinesse: To be righteous, is to a mans selfe: To bee iust.

iust, is towards others: But Iustice in a King auailes not, vnlesseit be with a cleane heart: for except he be Righteous, as well as Iust, he is no good King: and what euer iustice hee doeth; except hee doeth it for Iustice sake, and out of the purenesse of his owne heart, neither from private ends, vaine-glory, or any other by-respects of his owne, all such Iustice is vnrighteousnes, and no trew Iustice. From this imitation of GoD and CHRIST, in whose Throne wee sit, the gouernment of all Common-wealths, and especially Monarchies, hath bene from the beginning fetled and established. Kings are properly Judges and Judgement properly belongs to them from GoD: for Kings fit in the Throne of GoD, and thence all Iudgement is deriued.

In all well setled Monarchies, where Law is established formally and orderly, there Iudgement is deferred from the King to his subordinate Magistrates; not that the King takes it from himselfe, but gives it vnto them: So it comes not to them Privative, but Cumulative, as the Schoolemen speake.

The ground is ancient, euer sithence that Counsell which lethro gaue to Moles: for after that Mojes had gouerned a long time, in his owne person, the burthen grew so great, hauing none to helpe him, as his father in law comming to visite him, found him so cumbred with ministring of Iustice, that neither the people were satisfied, nor he well able to performe it; Therefore by his aduice, Iudges were deputed for easier questions, and the greater and more profound were left to Moles: And according to this establishment, all Kings that have had a formall gouernement, especially Christian Kings in allaages haue gouerned their people, though after a diuers maner.

This Deputation is after one maner in France, after another here, and even my owne Kingdomes differ in this point of government: for Scotland differs both from France and England herein; but all agree in this, (I speake of such Kingdomes or States where the formalitie of law hath place) that the King that sits in Gods Throne, onely deputes such putes subalterne Ludges, and hedeputes not

one but a number (for no one subalterne Iudges mouth makes Law) and their office is to interprete Law, and administer Iustice. But as to the number of them, the forme of gouernement, the manner of interpretation, the distinction of Benches, the diverfitie of Courts; these varie according to the varietie of gouernement, and institution of divers Kings: So this ground I lay, that the seate of Iudgement is properly Gods, and Kings are Gods Vicegerents; and by Kings Iudges are deputed vnder them, to beare the burden of gouernement, according to the first example of Moses by the aduice of lethro, and fithence practifed by Danid and Salomon, the wifest Kings that euer were; which is in this Psalme so interlaced, that as the first verse cannot be applyed properly but to David and Salomon, in the wordes, Give thy judgement to the King, &c. So the other place in the same Psalme, Righteousnesse shall flourish, and abundance of peace shall remaine as long as the Moone endureth, properly signifieth the eternitie of CHRIST. This I speake to show what a neere

neere conjunction there is betweene God and the King vpward, and the King and his Iudges downewards: for the same conjunction that is betweene God and the King vpward; the same conjunction is betweene the King and his Iudges downewards.

As Kings borrow their power from God, fo Iudges from Kings: And as Kings are to accompt to God, so Judges vnto God and Kings; and both Kings and Judges by imitation, haue two qualities from God and his Christ, and two qualities from Danid and his Salomon · Iudgement and Righteousnes, from God and Christ: Godlines and Wifedomefrom David and Salomon. And as no King can discharge his accompt to God, vnlesse he make conscience not to alter, but to declare and establish the wil of God: So Judges cannot discharge their accompts to Kings, vnlesse they take the like care, not to take vpon them tomake law, but ioyned together after a deliberate consultation, to declare what the Law is; For as Kings are Subiect vito Go, D.s Law, fo they to mans Law.

Law. It is the Kings Office to protect and fettle the trew interpretation of the Law of God within his Dominions: And it is the Iudges Office to interprete the Law of the King, whereto themselues are also subject.

Hauing now performed this ancient Prouerbe, A loue principium, which though it was spoken by a Pagan, yet it is good and holy: I am now to come to my particular Errand, for which I am here this day; wherin I must handle two parts: First, the reason why I have not these fourteene yeeres, sithence my Coronation untill now, fatisfied a great many of my louing subjects, who I know have had a great expectation, and as it were a longing, like them that are with child, to heare me speake in this place, where my Predecessors have often sitten, and especially King Henry the feuenth, from whom, as diuers wayes before, I am lineally descended, and that doubly to this Crowne; and as I am necrest descended of him, so doe I desire to follow him in his best actions.

The next part is the reason, Why I am now come: The cause that made mee ab-

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Staine,

staine, was this: When I came into England although I was an olde King, past middle aage, and practised in gouernment euer sithence I was twelue yeeres olde; yet being here a stranger in gouernment, though not in blood, because my breeding was in another Kingdome; I relolued therfore with Pythagoras to keep silence seuen yeres, & learne my selfe the lawes of this Kingdome, before I would take vpon mee to teach them vnto others: When this Apprentiship was ended, then another impediment came, which was in the choice of that cause, that should first bring mee hither. I expected some great cause to make my first entry vpon: For I thought that having abstained so long, it should bee a worthy matter that should bring me hither. Now euery cause must be great or small: In small causes I thought it difgraceful to come, having beene so long absent: In great causes, they must be either betwixt the King and some of his Subjects, or betwixt Subject and Subject.

In a cause where my selfe was concerned, I was loath to come, because men should

not thinke I did come for my owne private, either Prerogative or profit; or for any other by-respect: And in that I will alwaies abide the triall of men and Angels, neuer to haue had any particular end, in that which

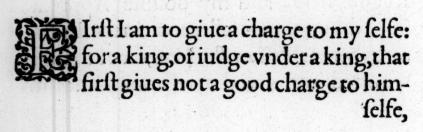
is the Maine of all things, Justice.

In a great cause also betweene partie and party, great in respect either of the question, or value of the thing, my comming might seeme, as it were obliquely, to bee in fauour of one party, and for that cause this Counfellour, or that Courtier might bee thought to mooue me to come hither; And a meane cause was not worthy of mee, especially for my first entrance : So, lacke of choise in both respects, kept mee off till now: And now having passed a double apprentiship of twice seuen yeeres, I am come hither to speake vnto you. And next as to the reasons of my comming at this time, they are thefe:

I have observed in the time of my whole Reigne here, and my double Apprentiship, divers things fallen out in the Iudicatures here at Westminster Hall, that I thought required and vrged a reformation at my

hands:

hands; whereupon I resolued with my selfe, that I could not more fitly begin a reformation, then here to make an open declaration of my meaning. I remember Christs saying, My sheepe heare my voyce, and so I assure my selfe, my people will most willingly heare the voice of me, their owne Shepheard and King, whereupon I tooke this occasion in mine owne person here in this Seate of Iudgement, not iudicially, but declaratorily and openly to give those directions, which, at other times by piece-meale, I have delivered to some of you in divers lesse publike places; but now will put it vp in all your audience, where I hope it shall bee trewly caried, and cannot be mistaken, as it might haue bene when itwas spoken more privately : I will for order sake take mee to the methode of the number of Three, the number of perfection, and vpon that number distribute all I haue to declare to you.



selfe, wil neuer be able to giue a good charge to his inferiors; for as I haue said, Good riuers cannot flow but fró good springs; if the fountaine be impure, so must the riuers be.

Secondly, to the Iudges And thirdly, to the Auditory, and the rest of the inferiour

ministers of Justice.

First I protest to you all, in all your audience, here sitting in the seate of Iustice, belonging vnto God, and now by right fallen vnto me, that I have resolved, as Confirmation in Maiority followeth Baptisme in minoritie; so now after many yeeres, to renew my promise & oath made at my Coronation concerning Iustice, and the promise therein for maintenance of the Law of the land. And I protest in Gods presence, my care hath euer bene to keepe my conscience cleare in all the points of my Oath, taken at my Coronation, so farre as humane frailtie may permit me, or my knowledge informe mee, Ispeake in point of Iustice and Law; For Religion, I hope I am reasonably well; knowen already: I meane therefore of Law and Iustice; and for Law, I meane the Com-

mon Law of the land, according to which the King gouernes, and by which the peopleare gouerned. For the Common Law, you can all beare me witnes, I neuer pressed alteration of it in Parliament; but on the contrary, when I endeuored most an Vnion reall, as was already in my person, my desire was to conforme the Lawes of Scotland to the Law of England, and not the Law of England to the Law of Scotland; and so the prophelie to beetrew of my wife Grandfather Henry the 7. who fortold that the leffer kingdome by marriage, would follow the greater, and not the greater the lesser: And therefore married his eldest daughter Margaret to Iames the fourth, my great Grandfather.

It was a foolish Querke of some Judges, who helde that the Parliament of England, could not vnite Scotland and England by the name of Great Britaine, but that it would make an alteration of the Lawes, though I am since come to that knowledge, that an Acte of Parliament can doe greater wonders: And that old wiseman the Treasourer Burghley was wont to say, Hee knew not

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what an Acte of Parliament could not doe in England; for my intention was alwayes to effect Union by vniting Scotland to England, and not England to Scotland: For I euer meant, being euer resolued, that this Law should continue in this Kingdome, and two things mooued me thereunto; One is, that in matter of Policie and State, you shall neuer see any thing anciently and maturely established, but by Innouation or alteration it is worse then it was, I meane not by purging of it from corruptions, and restoring it to the ancient integritie; An other reason was, I was sworne to maintaine the Law of the land, and therefore I had bene periured if I had altered it; And this I speake to roote out the conceit and misapprehension, if it bee in any heart, that I would change, damnifie, vilifie, or suppresse the Law of this Land. God is my ludge I neuer meant it; And this confirmation I make before you all.

To this I ioyne the point of Iustice, which I call Vnicuique Juum tribuere. All my Councell, and Iudges, dead and aliue

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can, and could beare me witnesse, how vnpartiall I have bene in declaring of Law.
And where it hath concerned mee in my
owne inheritance, I have as willingly submitted my interest to the Law, as any my
Subjects could doe, and it becomes mee so
to doe, to give example to others: much
lesse then, will I be partiall to others, where
I am not to my selfe. And so resolve your
selves, sustice with mee may bee moderated
in point of clemencie: for no sustice can bee
without Mercie. But in matters of sustice
to give every man his owne, to bee blinde
without eyes of partialitie; This is my full
resolution.

I vsed to say when I was in Scotland, if any man mooued mee to delay Iustice, that it was against the Office of a King so to doe; But when any made suit to hatten Iustice, I told them I had rather graunt fourtie of these suits, then one of the other: This was alwayes my custome and shalbe ever, with Gods leave.

Now what I have spoken of Law and Instice, I meane by the Law kept in her owne owne bounds: For I vnderstand the inheritance of the King, and Subiects in this land, must bee determined by the Common Law, &c; and that is, by the Law set downe in our forefathers time, expounded by learned men diuers times after in the declaratorie Comments, called Responsa Prudentum; Or els by Statute Law, set downe by Act of Parliament, as occasion serues: By this I do not seclude all other Lawes of England; but this is the Law of inheritance in this Kingdome.

There is another Law, of all Lawes free and supreame, which is Gods Lavv: And by this all Common and municipall Lawes must be gouerned: And except they have dependence upon this Law, they are unjust and unlawfull.

When I speake of that Law, I onely give this touch, That that Law in this Kingdome hath bene too much neglected, and Churchmen too much had in contempt, I must speake trewth, Great men, Lords, Iudges, and people of all degrees from the highest to the lowest, have too much con-

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temned them: And Go D will not bleffe vs in our owne Lawes, if we doe not reuerence and obey GODS LAW; which cannot be, except the interpreters of it be respected and reuerenced.

And it is a figne of the latter dayes drawing on; even the contempt of the Church, and of the Governours and Teachers thereof now in the Church of ENGLAND, which I say in my conscience, of any Church that ever I read or knew of, present or past, is most pure, and neerest the Primitive and Apostolicals Church in Doctrine and Discipline, and is sureliest founded vpon the word of God, of any Church in Christendome.

Next vnto this Law is the Law of Nations, which God forbid should bee barred, and that for two causes: One because it is a Law to satisfie strangers, which will not so well hold themselves satisfied with other municipal Lawes: An other, to satisfie our owne Subjects in matters of Piracie, Marriage, Wills, and things of like nature: That Law I divide into Civill and Canon;

And this Law hath bene so much encroached vpon, sithence my comming to the Crowne, and so had in contempt, that yong men are discouraged from studying, and the rest weary of their liues that doe professe it, and would bee glad to seeke any other crast.

So, speaking of the Common Law, I meane the Common Law kept within her owne limits, and not derogating from these other Lawes, which by long custome have bene rooted here, first, the L A W O F GOD and his Church, and next, the Law Ciuill and Canon, which in many cases cannot be wanting.

To conclude this charge which I give my selfe, I professe to maintaine all the points of mine Oath, especially in Lawes, and of

Lawes, especially the Common-Law.

And as to maintaine it, so to purgeit; for else it cannot be maintained: and especially to purge it from two corruptions, Incertaintie and Noueltie: Incertaintie is found in the Law it selfe, wherein I will bee painefull to cleare it to the people, and this is pro-

perly

perly to be done in Parliament by aduice of the Iudges.

The other corruption is introduced by the Iudges themselues, by Nicities that are vsed, where it may be said, Ab initio non fuit sic.

Nothing in the world is more likely to bee permanent to our eyes then yron or steele, yet the rust corrupts it, if it bee not kept cleane: which sheweth nothing is permanent here in this world, if it be not purged: So I cannot discharge my conscience in maintayning the Lawes, if I keepe them not cleane from corruption.

And now that I may be like the Pastour, that first takes the Sacrament himselfe, and then gives it to the people: So I have first taken my owne charge vpon me, before I give you your Charge, lest it might bee said, Turpe est doctori, cum culpa redarguit ipsum.

Ow my Lords the Iudges for your parts, the charge I haue to giue you, consists likewise in three parts.

First in generall, that you doe Iustice vprightly, as you shall answere to GoD, and

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mee: for as I have onely GoD to answere to, and to expect punishment at his hands, if I offend; So you are to answere both to GoD and to mee, and expect punishment at GoDs handes and mine, if you be found in fault.

Secondly, to doe Iustice indifferently betweene Subject and Subject, betweene King and Subject, without delay, partialitie, seare or briberie, with stoute and vpright hearts, with cleane and vncorrupt handes.

When I bid you doe Iustice boldly, yet I bid you doe it fearefully; fearefully in this, to vtter your owne conceits, and not the trew meaning of the Law: And remember you are no makers of Law, but Interpretours of Law, according to the trew sence thereof; for your Office is lus dicere, and not lus dare: And that you are so farre from making Law, that even in the higher House of Parliament you have no voice in making of a Law, but onely to give your advice when you are required.

And though the Lawes beein many pla-

ces obscure, and not so well knowne to the multitude as to you, and that there are many parts that come not into ordinary practile, which are knowne to you, because you can finde out the reason thereof by bookes and presidents; yet know this, that your interpretations must be alwayes subject to common sense and reason.

For I will neuer trust any interpretation, that agreeth not with my common sense and reason, and trew Logicke: for Ratio est anima Legis in all humane Lawes, without exception; it must not bee Sophistrie or straines of wit that must interprete, but eight

ther cleare Law, or folide reason.

But in Countreys where the formalitie of Law hath no place, as in Denmarke, which I may trewly report, as having my selfe bene an eye-witnesse thereof; all their State is gouerned onely by a written Law, there is no Aduocate or Proctour admitted to plead, onely the parties themselves plead their owne cause, and then a man stands up and reads the Law, and there is an end; for the very Law-booke it selfe is their onely

Iudge.

Iudge. Happy were all Kingdomes if they could be so: But heere, curious wits, various conceits, different actions, and varietie of examples breed questions in Law: And therefore when you heare the questions, if they bee plaine, there is a plaine way in it selfe; if they bee such as are not plaine (for mens inuentions dayly abound) then are you to interprete according to common sense, and draw a good and certaine Minor of naturall reason, out of the Maior of direct Lawe, and thereupon to make a right and trew Conclusion.

ferie and skill best knowen vnto your selues, yet if your interpretation bee such, as other men which haue Logicke and common sense vnderstand not the reason, I will

neuer trust such an Interpretation.

Remember also you are Judges, and not a Judge; and divided into Benches, which sheweth that what you doe, that you should doe with advice and deliberation, not hastily and rashly, before you well study the case, and conferre together; debating it duely,

not giuing single opinions, per emendicata suffragia; and so to give your ludgement, as

you will answer to God and me.

Now having spoken of your Office in generall, I am next to come to the limits wherein you are to bound your felues, which likewise are three. First, Incroach not vpon the Prerogatiue of the Crowne: If there fall out a question that concernes my Prerogatiue or mystery of State, deale not withit, till you confult with the King or his Councell, or both: for they are transcendent matters, and must not be sliberely caried with ouer-rash wilfulnesse; for so may you wound the King through the sides of a private person: and this I commend vnto your speciall care, as some of you of late haue done very well, to blunt the sharpe edge and vaine popular humour of some Lawyers at the Barre, that thinke they are not eloquent and bold spirited enough, except they meddle with the Kings Prerogatiue: But doe not you suffer this; for certainly if this liberty bee suffered, the Kings Prerogative, the Crowne, and I, shall be

be as much wounded by their pleading, as if you resoluted what they disputed. That which concernes the mysterie of the Kings power, is not lawfull to be disputed; for that is to wade into the weakenesse of Princes, and to take away the mysticall reuerence, that belongs vnto them that sit in the Throne of God.

Secondly, That you keepe your selues within your owne Benches, not to inuade other Iurisdictions, which is vnsit, and an vnlawfull thing; In this I must inlarge my selfe. Besides the Courts of Common Law, there is the Court of Requests; the Admiraltie Court; the Court of the President and Councell of Walles, the President and Councell of the North; High Commission Courts, euery Bishop in his owne Court.

These Courts ought to keepe their owne limits and boundes of their Commission and Instructions, according to the ancient Presidents: And like as I declare that my pleasure is, that every of these shall keepe their owne limits and boundes; So the Courts of Common Lawe are not to en-

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croach vpon them, no more then it is my pleasure that they should encroach vpon the Common Law. And this is a thing Regall, and proper to a King, to keepe enery Court within his owne bounds.

In Westminster Halthere are foure Courts: Two that handle causes Ciuil, which are the Common-pleas, and the Exchequer: Two that determine causes Criminall, which are the Kings-Bench, and the Starre-Chamber, where now I fit. The Common-Pleas is a part and branch of the Kings-Bench; for it was first all one Court; and then the Common-Pleas being extracted, it was called Common-Pleas; because it medled with the Pleas of Private persons, and that which remained, the Kings-Bench. The other of the Courts for civill Causes, is the Exchequer, which was ordeined for the Kings Reuenew: That is the principal Institution of that Court, and ought to be their chiefe studie; and as other things come orderly thither by occasion of the former, they may bee handled, and Iustice there administred.

Keepe you therefore all in your owne bounds, and for my part, I desire you to

giueme no more right in my private Prerogative, then you give to any Subject; and therein I will be acquiescent: As for the absolute Prerogative of the Crowne, that is no Subject for the tongue of a Lawyer, nor

is lawfull to be disputed.

It is Athiesme and blasphemie to dispute what God can doe: good Christians content themselves with his will revealed in his word. So, it is presumption and high contempt in a Subject, to dispute what a King can doe, or say that a King cannot doe this, or that; but rest in that which is the Kings revealed will in his Law.

The Kings-Bench is the principal! Court for criminal causes, and in some respects it

deales with civill causes.

Then is there a Chancerie Court; this is a Court of Equitie, and hath power to deale likewise in Ciuill causes. It is called the differnser of the Kings Conscience, following alwayes the intention of Lawe and Iustice; not altering the Law, not making that blacke which other Courts made white, nor, deconverso; But in this it exceeds other

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Courts,

Courts, mixing Mercie with Iustice, where other Courts proceed only according to the strict rules of Law. And where the rigour of the Law in many cases will vndoe a Subiect, there the Chancerie tempers the Law with equitie, and so mixeth Mercie with Iustice, as it preserues men from destruction.

And thus (as before I tolde you) is the Kings Throne established by Mercie

and Iustice.

The Chancerie is vndependant of any other Court, and is onely vnder the King: There it is written Teste meipso; from that Court there is no Appeale. And as I am bound in my Conscience to maintaine euery Courts Iurisdiction, so especially this, and not suffer it to sustaine wrong; yet so to maintaine it, as to keepe is within the ownelimits, and free from corruption. My Chancellor that now is, I found him Keeper of the Seale, the same place in substance, although I gaue him the Stile of Chancellor, and God hath kept him in it till now; and I pray God he may hold it long; and so I hope he will. He will beare me witnesse,

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I neuer gaue him other warrant, then to goe on in his Court according to Presidents, warranted by Law in the time of the best gouerning Kings, and most learned Chancellors; These were the limits I gaue vnto him, beyond the same limits hee hath promised me he will neuer goe.

And as hee hath promised mee to take no other Iurisdiction to himselfe, so it is my promise euer to maintaine this Iurisdiction in that Court: Therefore I speake this to vindicate that Court from misconceipt and

contempt.

It is the duetie of Iudges to punish those that seeke to depraue the proceedings of any the Kings Courts, and not to encourage them any way: And I must confesse I thought it an odious and inept speach, and it grieued me very much, that it should bee said in Westminster Hall, that a Premunire lay against the Court of the Chancery and Officers there: how can the King grant a Premunire against himselfe?

It was a foolish, inept, and presumptuous attempt, and sitter for the time of some vn-worthie

worthie King: vnderstand mee aright; I meane not, the Chancerie should exceede his limite; but on the other part, the King onely is to correct it, and none else: And therefore I was greatly abused in that attempt. For if any was wronged there, the complaint should have come to me. None of you but will confesse you have a King of reasonable vnderstanding, and willing to reforme; why then should you spare to complaine to me, that being the high way; and not goe the other by-way, and backe-way, in contempt of our Authority.

And therefore sitting heere in a seate of Iudgement, I declare and command, that no man hereaster presume to sue a *Premunire* against the Chancery; which I may the more easily doe, because no *Premunire* can bee sued but at my suite: And I may justly

barre my selse at mine owne pleasure.

As all inundations come with ouerflowing the bankes, and neuer come without great inconvenience, and are thought prodigious by Astrologers in things to come:

So is this overflowing the bankes of your

Iurisdicton

Iurisdiction in it selfe inconvenient, and

may proue prodigious to the State.

Remember therefore, that hereafter you keepe within your limits and Iurisdictions. It is a speciall point of my Office to procure and command, that amongst Courts there be a concordance, and musicall accord; and it is your parts to obey, and see this kept: And, as you are to observe the ancient Lawes and customes of England; so are you to keepe your selues within the bound of direct Law, or presidents; and of those, not euery snatched president, carped now here, now there, as it were running by the way; but such as have never bene controverted, but by the contrary, approued by common vsage, in times of best Kings, and by most learned Iudges.

The Starre- Chamber Court hath bene likewise shaken of late, and the last yeere it had received a sore blow, if it had not bene assisted and caried by a few voices, The very name of Starre-Chamber, seemeth to procure

a reuerence to the Court.

I will not play the Criticke to descant on E the

the name; It hath a name from heauen, a Starre placed in it; and a Starre is a glorious creature, and seated in a glorious place, next vnto the Angels. The Starre-Chamber is also glorious in substance; for in the composition, it is of foure forts of persons: The first two are Privie Councellors and Iudges, the one by wisedome in matters of State; the other, by learning in matters of Law, to direct and order all things both according to Law and State: The other two forts are Peeres of the Realme, and Bishops: The Peeres are there by reason of their greatnes, to giue authoritie to that Court: The Bishops because of their learning in Diuinitie, and the interest they have in the good gouernment of the Church: And so, both the learning of both diuine and humane Law, and experience and practise in Gouernement, are coniouned together in the proceedings of this Court.

There is no Kingdome but hath a Court of Equitie, either by it selfe, as is here in England, or else mixed, and incorporate in their Office that are Judges in the Law, as it

is in Scotland: But the order of England is much more perfect, where they are dinided. And as in case of Equitie, where the Law determines not clearely, there the Chancerie doeth determine, hauing Equitie belonging to it, which doeth belong to no other Court: So the Starre-Chamber hath that belonging to it, which belongs to no other Court: For in this Court Attempts are punishable, where other Courts punish onely facts; And also where the Law punisheth facts easily, as in case of Riotts or Combates, there the Starre-Chamber punisheth in a higher degree; And also all combinations of practifes and conspiracies; And if the King be dishonoured or contemned in his Prerogative, it belongs most properly to the Peeres and Iudges of this Court to punishit: So then this Court being instituted for so great causes, it is great reason it should have great honour.

Remember now how I have taught you brotherly loue one toward another: For you know well, that as you are Iudges, you are all brethren, and your Courts are sisters.

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Ipray

I pray you therefore, labour to keepe that sweete harmonie which is amongst those Sisters the Muses. What greater misery can there be to the Law, then contempt of the Law? and what readier way to contempt, then when questions come, what shall bee determined in this Court, and what in that? Whereupon two euils doe arise; The one, that men come not now to Courts of Iustice, to heare matters of right pleaded, and decrees giuen accordingly, but onely out of a curiositie to heare questions of the iurisdictions of Courts disputed, and to see the euent, what Court is like to preuaile aboue the other; And the other is, that the Pleas are turned from Court to Court in an endlesse circular motion, as vpon Ixions wheele: And this was the reason why I found iust fault with that multitude of Prohibitions: for when a poore Minister had with long labour, and great expence of charge and time, gotten a sentence for his Tithes, then comes a Prohibition, and turnes him round from Court to Court, and so makes his cause immortall and endlesse: for by this vncer-

vncertaintie of Iurisdiction amongest Courts, causes are scourged from Court to Court, and this makes the fruit of suits like Tantalus fruit, still neere the suiters lips, but can neuercome to tast it. And this in deed is a great delay of Iustice, and makes causes endlesse: Therefore the onely way to auoyd this, is for you to keepe your owne bounds, and nourish not the people in contempt of other Courts, but teach them reuerence to Courts in your publique speaches, both in your Benches and in your Circuits; So shall you bring them to a reuerence, both of God, and of the King.

Keepe therefore your owne limits towards the King, towards other Courts, and towards other Lawes, bounding your selues within your owne Law, and make not new Law. Remember, as I said before, that you are Judges, to declare, and not to make Law: For when you make a Decree neuer heard of before, you are Law-giuers, and not

Law-tellers.

I haue laboured to gather some Articles, like an Index expurgatorius, of nouelties new E 3 crept

crept into the Law, and I have it ready to be considered of: Looke to Plowdens Cases, and your old Responsa prudentum; if you finde it not there, then (ab initio non fuit sic) I must say with Christ, Away with the new polygamie, and maintaine the ancient Law pure and vndesiled, as it was before.

O the Auditory I have but little to fay, yet that little will not be ill bestowed to be faid at this time.

Since I haue now renewed and confirmed my resolution to maintaine my Oath, the Law and Iustice of the Land; So do I expect, that you my Subjects do submit your selves as you ought, to the observance of that Law.

And as I have divided the two former parts of my Charge; So will I divide this your submission into three parts; for orderly divisions and methode, cause things better to be remembred.

First in generall, that you give due reverence to the Law; and this generall divides it selfe into three.

First, not to sue, but vpon iust cause.

Secondly,

Secondly, being fued, and Iudgement passed against you, Acquiesce in the Judgement, and doe not tumultuate against it; and take example from me, whom you have heard here protest, that when euerany Decree shall be given against me in my private right, betweene me and a Subject, I will as hnmbly acquiesce, as the meanest man in the Land. Imitate me in this, for in every Plea there are two parties, and Iudgement can be but for one, and against the other; so

one must alwayes be displeased.

Thirdly, doe not complaine and importune mee against Iudgements; for I holde this Paradoxe to be a good rule in gouernment, that it is better for a King to maintaine an vniust Decree, then to question euery Decree and Iudgement, after the giuing of a sentence; for then suites shall neuer haue ende: Therefore as you come gaping to the Law for Iustice, so bee satisfied and contented when Iudgement is past against you, and trouble not mee; but if you finde briberie or corruption, then come boldly: but when I say boldly, beware of comming

comming to complaine, except you be very fure to prooue the inflice of your cause: Otherwise looke for Lex Talionis to bee executed vpon you; for your accusing of an vpright sudge, deserues double punishment, in that you seeke to lay infamie vpon a worthy person of that reuerent calling.

And bee not tild on with your owne Lawyers tales, that say the cause is just for their owne gaine; but beleeve the Iudges,

that haueno hire but of me.

Secondly, in your Pleas, presume not to meddle with things against the Kings Prerogatiue, or Honour: Some Gentlemen of late haue bene too bold this wayes; If you vseit, the Iudges will punish you; and if they suffer it, I must punish both them and you. Plead not vpon new Puritanicall straines, that make all things popular; but keepe you within the ancient Limits of Pleas.

Thirdly, make not many changes from Court to Court: for hee that changeth Courts, shewes to mistrust the instruction of the cause. Goe to the right place, and the

Court

Court that is proper for your cause; change not thence, and submit your selues to the

Iudgement giuen there.

Thus having finished the charge to my selfe, the Judges and the Auditorie, I am to crave your pardon if I have forgotten any thing, or beene inforced to breake my Methode; for you must remember, I come not hither with a written Sermon: I have no Bookes to reade it out of, and a long speach, manifold businesse, and a little leasure may well pleade pardon for any fault of memorie; and trewly I know not if I have forgotten any thing or not.

And now haue I deliuered, First my excuse, why I came not till now: Next, the reasons why I came now: Thirdly, my charge, and that to my selfe, to you my Lords the Iudges, and to the Auditorie.

I haue also an ordinarie charge that I vse to deliuer to the Iudges before my Councell, when they goe their circuits; and seeing I am come to this place, you shall haue that also, and so I will make the old saying trew, Combe seldome, combe sore, I meane by my I long

long deteining you at this time, which will be to much the more profitable in this Auditorie; because a number of the Auditorie will be informed here who may relate it to their fellow Justices in the countrey.

My Lords the Iudges, you know very well, that as you are Iudges with mee when you fit here; so are your Iudges vnder me, and my Substitutes in the circuits, where you are Iudges Itinerant to doe Iustice to

my people.

It is an ancient and laudable custome in this Kingdome, that the Iudges goe thorow the Kingdome in Circuits, easing the people thereby of great charges, who must otherwise come from all the remote parts of the Kingdome to Westminster Hall, for the finding out and punishing of offences past, and preuenting the occasion of offences that may arise.

I can give you no other charge in effect, but onely to remember you againe of the fame in substance which I delivered to you

this time Twelue-moneth.

First, remember that when you goe your Cir-

Circuits, you goe not onely to punish and preuent offences, but you are to take care for the good gouernment in general of the parts where you trauell, as well as to doe Iustice in particular betwixt party and party, in causes criminall and civill.

You have charges to give to Iustices of peace, that they doe their dueties when you are absent, aswell as present: Take an accompt of them, and report their service to

me at your returne.

As non of you will hold it sufficient to give a charge, except in taking the accompt, you finde the fruit of it: So I say to you, it will not be sufficient for you, to heare my charge, if at your returne, you bring not an accompt to the haruest of my sowing, which cannot bee done in generall, but in making to me a particular report what you have done.

For, a King hath two Offices.

First, to direct things to be done:

Secondly, to take an accompt how they are fulfilled, for what is it the better for mee

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to direct as an Angel, if I take not accompt

of your doings.

I know not whether misunderstanding, or slackenesse bred this, that I had no accompt but in generall, of that I gaue you in particular in charge the last yeere: Therefore I now charge you againe, that at your next returne, you repaire to my (bancellor, and bring your accompts to him in writing, of those things which in particular I haue giuen you in charge: And then when I haue seene your accompts, as occasion shall serue, it may bee I will call for some of you, to be informed of the state of that part of the countrey where your Circuit lay.

Of these two parts of your service, I know the ordinary legall part of Nisiprius is the more profitable to you: But the other part of instice is more necessary for my service. Therefore as Christ said to the Pharises, Hoc agite, as the most principall: yet I will say, Et illud non omittite: which, that you may the better doe, I have allowed you a day more in your Circuits, then my Predeces-

fors have done.

And this you shall finde, that even as a King, (let him be neuer fo godly, wife, righteous, and iust) yet if the sublaterne Magistrats doe not their parts under him, the Kingdome must needes suffer: So let the Iudges be neuer fo carefull and industrious, if the Iustices of Peace under them, put not to their helping handes, in vaine is all your labour: For they are the Kings eyes and eares in the countrey. It was an ancient custome, that all the Judges both immediatly before their going to their Circuits, and immediatly vpon their returne, repaired to the Lord Chancellour of England, both to receive what directions it should please the King by his mouth to give vnto them; as also to giue him an accompt of their labours, who was to acquaint the King therewith: And this good ancient custome hath likewise beene too much flacked of late; And therefore first of all, I am to exhort & command you, that you bee carefull to give a good accompt to mee and my Chancellor, of the dueties performed by all Iustices of Peace in your Circuits: Which government by Iustices,

stices, is so lawdable and so highly esteemed by mee, that I have made Scooland to be gouerned by instices and Constables, as England is. And let not Gentlemen be ashamed of this Place; for it is a place of high Honeur, and great reputation, to bee made a Minister of the Kings Instice, in service of the Common-wealth.

Of these there are two sorts, as there is of all Companies, especially where there is a great number; that is, good and bad lustices: For the good, you are to informe me of them, that I may know them, thanke them, and reward them, as occasion serves; For I hold a good Iustice of Peace in his Countrey, to doe mee as good seruice, as hee that waits vpon me in my Priuie Chamber, and as ready will I be to reward him; For I accompt him as capable of any Honour, Office, or preferrement about my Person, or for any place of Councell or State, as well as any Courteour that is neere about mee, or any that have deserved well of me in forraine imployments: Yea I esteeme the seruice done mee by a good Iustice of Peace, three

three hundred miles, yea fixe hundred miles out of my fight, as well as the service done me in my presence: For as God hath given mee large limits, so must I bee carefull that my providence may reach to the farthest parts of them: And as Law cannot bee honoured, except Honour begiven to Judges: so without due respect to Justices of Peace, what regard will be had of the service?

Therefore let none bee ashamed of this Office, or be discouraged in being a Iustice

of Peace, if he serue worthily in it.

The Chancellour vnder me, makes Iustices, and puts them out; but neither I, nor hee can tell what they are: Therefore wee must be informed by you Iudges, who can onely tell, who doe well, and who doe ill; without which, how can the good bee cheished and maintained, and the rest put out? The good Iustices are carefull to attend the seruice of the King and countrey, for thanks onely of the King, and loue to their countrey, and for no other respect.

The bad are either idle Slowbellies, that abide alwayes at home, given to a life of ease and

and delight, liker Ladies then men; and thinkeit is enough to contemplate Iustice, when as Virtus in actione consistit: contemplative Iustice is no iustice, and contemplative Iustices are sit to be put out.

Another fort of Iustices are busie-bodies, and will have all men dance after their pipe, and follow their greatnesse, or else will not be content; A fort of men, Quise primos omnium esse putant, nec sunt tamen: these proud spirits must know, that the countrey is ordained to obey and follow GoD and the King, and not them.

Another fort are they, that goe seldome to the Kings service, but when it is to helpe some of their kindred or alliance; So as when they come, it is to helpe their friends, or hurt their enemies, making Iustice to serve for a shadow to Faction, and tumul-

tuating the countrey.

Another fort are Gentlemen of great worth in their owne conceit, and cannot bee content with the present forme of Gouernement, but must have a kind of libertie in the people, and must bee gracious Lords, and

and Redeemers of their libertie; and in euery cause that concernes Prerogatiue, giue a snatch against a Monarchie, through their Puritanical itching after Popularitie: Some of them have shewed themselves too bold of late in the lower house of Parliament: And when all is done, if there were not a King, they would be lesse cared for then other men.

And now having spoken of the qualities of the Iustices of Peace, I am next to speake of their number. As I euer held the midway in all things to be the way of Vertue, in eschewing both extremities: So doe I in this: for vpon the one part, a multitude of lustices of Peace in the countrey more then is necessary, breeds but confusion · for although it be an old Prouerbe, that Many handes make light worke; yet too many make flight worke; and too great a number of Iustices of Peace, will make the businesse of the countrey to bee the more neglected, every one trusting to another, so as nothing shalbe well done; besides the breeding of great corruption: for where there

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is a great number, it can hardly be, but some wilbe corrupted. And vpon the other part, too few Iultices of Peace, will not be able to vndergoe the burthen of the service; And therefore I would neither haue too few, nor too many, but as many in euery countrey, as may, according to the proportion of that countrey, bee necessary for the performing

of the service there, and no more.

As to the charge you are to give to the Iustices, I can but repeat what formerly I haue told you; Yet in so good a businesse, Lectio lecta placet, decies repetita placebit. And as I beganne with fulfilling the Prouerbe, A loue principium; so will I beginne the charge you haue to giue to the Iustices with Church-matters: for GoD will bleffe euery good businesse the better, that he and his Church haue the precedence. That which I am now to speake, is anent Recufants and Papists. You never returned from any Circuit, but by your accompt made vnto me, I both conceived great comfort, and great griefe: Comfort, when I heard a number of Reculants in some Circuits to be diminished:

minished: Griefe to my heart and soule, when I heard a number of Recusants to be in other Circuits increased.

I protest vnto you, nothing in the earth can grieue mee so much, as mens falling away from Religion in my dayes; And nothing so much ioyes me, as when that Religion increaseth vnder mee. Go D is my witnesse, I speake nothing for vaine-glory; but speake it againe; My heart is grieued when I heare Recusants increase: Therefore I wish you ludges, to take it to heart, as I doe, and preuent it as you can; and make mee knowen to my people, as I am.

There are three forts of Recusants: The first are they that for themselues will bee no Recusants, but their wives and their families are; and they themselves doe come to Church, but once or twice in a yeere, inforced by Law, or for fashion sake; These may bee formall to the Law, but more false to

Go D then the other fort.

The second sort are they that are Recufants & haue their conscience misse-led, and therefore result to come to Church, but o-G 2 ther

therwise liue as peaceable Subiects.

The third for tare practifing Reculants; These force all their servants to bee Recusants with them; they will suffer none of their tenants, but they must be Recusants; and their neighbours if they live by them

in peace, must be Recusants also.

These you may finde out as a foxe by the foule smell, a great way round about his hole; This is a high pride and presumption, that they for whose soules I must answere to GoD, and who eniony their lives and liberties under mee, will not onely bee Recusants themselves, but infect and draw others after them.

As I haue said in Parliament house, I can loue the person of a Papist, being otherwise a good man and honestly bred, neuer hauing knowen any other Religion: but the person of an Apostate Papist, I hate. And surely for those Polypragmaticke Papists, I would you would studie out some seue e punishment for them: for they keepe not infection in their owne hearts onely, but also infect others our good Subjects. And that

that which I say for Recusants, the same I say for Priests: I confesse I am loath to hang a Priest onely for Religion sake, and saying Masse; but if he refuse the Oath of Alleagiance (which, let the Pope and all the deuils in Hell say what they will) yet (as you finde by my booke and by divers others, is meerely Civill) those that so refuse the Oath, and are Polypragmaticke Recusants; I leave them to the Law; it is no persecution, but

good Iustice.

And those Priests also, that out of my Grace and Mercy haue beene let goe out of prisons, and banished, vpon condition not to returne; aske mee no questions touching these, quit me of them, and let me not heare of them: And to them I ioyne those that breake prison; for such Priests as the prison will not hold, it is a plaine signe nothing will hold them but a halter: Such are no Martyrs that resuse to suffer for their conscience. Paul, notwithstanding the doores were open, would not come foorth: And Peter came not out of the prison till led by the Angell of God: But these will goe forth G 3 though

though with the angell of the Diuell.

I haue giuen order to my Lord of Canterbury, and my Lord of London for the distinction, &c. of the degrees of Priestes; and when I haue an accompt from them, then will I giue you another charge concerning them.

Aro her thing that offendeth the Realme, is abundance of Ale-houses; and therefore to auoyd the giuing occasion of euill, and to take away the roote, and punish the example of vice, I would have the infamous Ale-houses pulled downe, and a command to all Iustices of Peace that this be done.

I may complaine of Ale-houses, for receipt of Stealers of my Deere; but the countrey may complaine for stealing their horses, oxen, and sheepe; for murder, cutting of purses, and such like offences; for these are their haunts. Deuouring beasts, as Lyons, and Beares, will not be where they have no dennes nor couert, So there would be no theeues, if they had not their receipts, and these Alehouses as their dennes.

Another sort, are a kinde of Ale-houses, which

which are houses of haunt and receipt for debaushed rogues and vagabonds, and idle sturdie fellowes; and thete are not properly Ale houses, but base victuallers, such as haue nothing else to liue by, but keeping houses of receipt for such kinde of customers. I haue discouered a strange packe of late, That within tenne or twelue miles of London, there are tenne or twelue persons that liue in spight of me; going with Pistols, and walking vp and downes from harbour to harbour killing my Deere, and so shift from hold to hold, that they cannot be apprehended.

For Rogues, you have many good Acts of Parliament: Edward the fixt, though hee were a child, yet for this, he in his time gave better order then many Kings did in their aage: You must take order for these Beggars and Rogues; for they so swarme in every place, that a man cannot goe in the streetes, nor in the high wayes, nor any

where for them.

Looke to your houses of Correction, and remember that in the chiefe Iustice Pophams

Pophams time, there was not a wandering begger to be found in all Somerfetsbire, being

his natiue countrey.

Haue a care also to suppresse the building of Cottages vpon Commons, which are as bad as Alehouses, and the dwellers in them do commonly steale Deare, connies, sheepe, oxen, horses; breake houses, and doe all maner of villanies. It is trew, some ill Iustices make gaine of these base things take an accompt of the Iustices of Peace, that they may know they doe these things against the will of the King.

I am likewise to commend vnto you a thing very necessarie, High-wayes and Bridges; because no Common-weale can bee without passage: I protest, that as my heart doeth ioy in the erection of Schooles and Hospitals, which have bene more in my time, then in many aages of my predecessors; so it grieues me, and it is wonderfull to see the decay of charitie in this; how scant men are in contributing towards the amendment of High-wayes and Bridges: Therefore take a care of this, for that is done

done to day with a penie, that will not bee done hereafter with an hundred pounds, and that will bee mended now in a day, which hereafter will not bee mended in a yeere; and that in a yeere, which will not be done in our time, as wee may see by Panles

Steeple.

Another thing to be cared for, is, the new Buildings here about the Citic of London; concerning which my Proclamations haue gone foorth, and by the chiefe Iustice here, and his Predecessor Popham, it hath beneresolued to bee a generall nusans to the whole Kingdome: And this is that, which is like the Spleene in the body, which in measure as it ouergrowes, the body wastes. For is it possible but the countrey must diminish, if London doe so increase, and all sorts of people doe come to London? and where doeth this increase appeare? not in the heart of the City, but in the suburbs; not giving wealth or profit to the City, but bringing miserie and surcharge both to City and Court; caufing dearth and scarsitie through the great prouision of victuals and fewell, that must

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be

befor such a multitude of people. And these buildings serve likewise to harbor the worst sort of people, as Alehouses and cottages doe. I remember, that before Christmas was twelve-moneth I made a Proclamation for this cause, That all Gentlemen of quatie should depart to their owne countreys and houses, to maintaine hospitalitie amongst their neighbours; which was equiuocally taken by some, as that it was meant onely for that Christmas: But my will and meaning was, and here I declare that my meaning was, that it should alwayes continue.

One of the great causes of all Gentlemens desire, that have no calling or errand, to dwell in London, is apparently the pride of the women: For if they be wives, then their husbands; and if they be maydes, then their fathers must bring them up to London, because the new fashion is to be had no where but in London: and here, if they be unmarried, they marre their marriages, and if they be married they loose their reputations, and robbe their husbands purses. It is the fashi-

on of Italy, especially of Naples, (which is one of the richest parts of it) that all the Gentry dwell in the principall townes, and so the whole countrey is emptie: Euen so now in England, all the countrey is gotten into London; so as with time, England will onely bee London, and the whole countrey be left waste: For as we now do imitate the Frenchfashion, infashion of Clothes, and Lackeys to follow euery man; So haue wee got vp the Italian fashion, in liuing miserably in our houses, and dwelling all in the citie: but let vs in Gods name leaue these idle forreine toyes, and keepe the old fashion of England: For it was wont to bee the honour and reputation of the English Nobilitieand Gentry, to live in the countrey, and keepe hospitalitie; for which wee were famous aboue all the countreys in the world; which we may the better doe, hauing a soile abundantly fertile to liue in.

And now out of my owne mouth I declare vnto you, which being in this place, is equall to a Proclamation, which I intend likewise shortly hereafter to have publikely

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pro-

proclaimed,) that the Courtiers, Citizens, and Lawyers, and those that belong vnto them, and others as have Pleas in Terme time, are onely necessary persons to remaine about this City; others must get them into the countrey, For beside the having of the countrey desolate, when the Gentrie dwell thus in LONDON, divers other mifchiefes arise vpon it: First, if insurrections should fall out (as was lately seene by the Leuellers gathering together) what order can be taken with it, when the countrey is vnfurnished of Gentlemen to take order with it? Next, the poore want reliefe for fault of the Gentlemens hospitality at home: Thirdly, my seruice is neglected, and the good gouernment of the countrey for lacke of the principall Gentlemens presence, that should performe it : And lastly, the Gentlemen lose their owne thrift, for lacke of their owne presence, in seeing to their owne bufines at home. Therefore as every fish lives in his owne place, fome in the fresh, some in the falt, some in the mud: so let every one live in his owne place, some at Court, some

in the Citie, some in the Countrey; specially at Festivall times, as Christmas and Easter, and the rest.

And for the decrease of new buildings heere, I would have the builders restrained, and committed to prison; and if the builders cannot be found, then the workemen to bee imprisoned; and not this onely, but likewise the buildings to bee cast downe; I meane such buildings as may bee overthrowen without inconvenience, and therfore that to be done by order and direction.

There may be many other abuses that I know not of, take you care my Lords the Iudges of these, and of all other; for it is your part to looke vnto them. I hearesay, robbery begins to abound more then heretofore, and that some of you are too mercifull; I pray you remember, that mercy is the Kings, not yours, and you are to doe Iustice where trew cause is: And take this for a rule of Policie, That what vice most abounds in a Common wealth, that must bee most severely punished, for that is trew gouernment.

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And now I wil conclude my Speach with God, as I began. First, that in all your behauiours, as well in your Circuits as in your Benches, you give due reverence to God: I meane, let not the Church nor Churchmen be disgraced in your Charges, nor Papists nor Puritanes countenanced: Countenance and encourage the good Churchmen, and teach the people by your example to reverence them: for, if they be good, they are worthy of double honour for their Office sake; if they bee faultie, it is not your place to admonish them; they have another Forum to answere to for their misbehaviour.

Next, procure reverence to the King and the Law; informe my people trewly of me, how zealous I am for Religion, how I desire Law may be maintained and flourish; that every Court should have his owne Iurisdiction; that every Subject should submit himselfe to Law; So may you live a happy people vnder a Just King, freely enjoying the fruit of Peace and Ivstice, as such a people should doe.

Now

#### in the Starre- pamoer.

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Now I confesse, it is but a Tandem aliquando, as they fay in the Schooles, that I am come hither: Yet though this be the first, it shall not, with the grace of God, bethelast time of my comming, now my choice is taken away; for having once bene here, a meaner occasion may bring mee againe: And I hope I have ever caried my selfe so, and by Gods grace euer will, as none will euersuspect, that my comming here will bee to any partiallend; for I will euer bee carefull in point of Iustice, to keepe my selfe vnspotted all the dayes of my life. And vpon this my generall protestation, I hope the world wilknow, that I came hither this day to maintaine the Law, and doe Iustice

according to my Oath.

